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/TOS cont./

them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their cure.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (=andera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

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*908 of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were
191 used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

*796 The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an
● 554 alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the
[578] alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their saya were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or
[171] corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the
[174] entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to —

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*796 554 /341 cont./ in Paredes (1) the Pages which he devotes to One must read

1. Mitos, superstitiones y supervivencias, etc., p. 176-186.

the alferez's to realize what the rank of alferez means to an Indian or Bolivian cholo. The pointless glory of bearing this title for one day generally brings the ruin of the hero of the festival with it. *796 554 426 This expense is so crushing that in order to meet it the alferez are often obliged to have recourse to their relatives or friends for help. This consists of small gifts, and those who give them are called ayni. The debt which is contracted in these circumstances is, Paredes tells us (2), sacred, and one cannot fail to discharge it.

2. Ibid., p. 162.

*796 431 During the Čipaya festivals I have actually seen Indians who came to offer the alferez either eggs, sheaves of straw, coca, or alcohol. These little gifts were most welcome and accepted with gratitude by the alferez, whose resources had been singularly strained by the world-wide crisis. Dr. Rivet (3) observed customs in Ecuador

*796 554 191 [113]

3. Rivet (Paul). "Étude sur les Indiens de la région de Riobamba /Study on the Indians of the Riobamba Region/," Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris. Paris, New Series, Vol. I, No. 1, 1903, p. 76.

identical with those described here, the only difference being that in that land the alferez bears the name of prioste. "The Indians have a strong desire to give festivals which will eclipse all previous ones. This folly pushes some unfortunates to work a whole year, denying themselves stubbornly all but the strictly necessary, /342/ even on Sundays (strange contradiction). Then the festival arrives,

/342 cont./

*796 559 171 there they are priostes, and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one year of work are devoured."

One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of *796 791 "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem 791 than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at several festivals and having admired the competency with which he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the 791 956 art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in these superstitious practices.

*796 799 159 Espíritu Mamani, a bearded giant with the head of a faun, made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental equilibrium. Among all the Čipaya he alone was animated with exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

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/350 cont./

*796 529 576 čuta, Tata unkuštan čuta, Tata san Rafaelištan čuta, Santa Martaštan čuta, Taikas Mariaštan čuta, Tata San Xoakinaštan čuta, Kosé Kristoštan čuta, Waralupaštan čuta, Wirxina-altaštan čuta, Pačamamaštan čuta: L'anka Mariaštan čuta, Kimša pakʸal'a nasimiente čuta, mantinšon parwal'a čuta."

*796 534 The drinking was presided over as usual by an alferez, who this time was hardly able to make a display of his munificence, since the alcohol and coca that were being consumed had been brought by each of the participants. Nevertheless, he was greeted with the cry: "Xal'al'a alferez" (Hallelujah alferez) and was treated to several refrains of asiento de paloma, i.e., "pigeon next."

This agreeable pastime did not, however, cause them to neglect their /351/ religious duties. Each moment two or three Indians who were especially pious or endowed with a good memory would throw themselves on their knees and in a rythmic and moaning tone recite prayers, some of which have been transcribed above. Espíritu Mamani gave evidence of very special ardor and zeal. He was as if possessed by a fit of mystical enthusiasm. The following prayer was the one which recurred most frequently on his lips:

*796 539

Araxpačʸa	auki,	wawaxinaka	taki	suma	waina	tiempo
Sky	master	children the	for	good	young	weather

aka	mara	taki	čʸuranipkita,	owa-naka-taki
this	year	for	that thou givest us	sheep the for

kaura-kal'u,	kučʸi-kal'u	usa-kal'u,	pakʸal'a
llamas young,	piglets	lambs,	livestock

nasimiento	taki.
birth	for

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Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktaki'a.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mal'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

/363 cont./

this time with two soups, one of quinua and the other of Ẍuño and quinua leaves. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the efforts of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the sheaves which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most respected guests were seated inside the hut.

The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku,	Kusil'er-mal'ku,	Kilimint-mal'ku,	Kusil'aviri,
Kant-demon,	Kusil'er-demon,	Kilimint-demon,	Kusil'aviri,

márka-kol'o,	Kemperan	mal'ku,	Estewan-mal'ku (1),
country mountains	Kemperan	demon,	Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the winds.

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520 537 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [323] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the [554] sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

520 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances

2:Métraux--133 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Plate XII

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A. —Festival of Candlemas: libation to a banner.

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B. —Čipaya women feasting the day after a festival.

2:Métraux--135 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

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Plate XIV

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A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).

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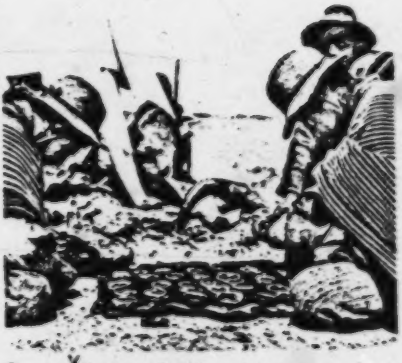

C. — Cipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Cipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

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1. Forbes (David), "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, London, New Series, Vol. II, 1870, p. 255.

in his classic monograph on the Aymara has left us an excellent description of the conical huts made entirely of stone which he encountered in his wanderings in Bolivia. The lines he devotes to them could be applied word for word to the "water houses" of the second type of the Čipaya Indians. "In the out-of-the-way places I observed circular or oval stone huts; such have been called beehive houses, the stones forming the roof and sides not being arched, but approaching one another little by little until they meet in the form of a dome; I found an excellent example of this construction, well and neatly put together, on the slope of the mountain of Illampu. This measured, internally, 9.5 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 5 feet in height; the door which was on the longer side of the oval was straight, 3 feet high and 18 inches broad; no chimney or other opening for smoke was visible." /Cited in English./ (2)

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[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia," Comparative ethnographical studies, 3, Göteborg, 1924, p. 19. He describes this form of hut among the Aymara of the region of Tunari near Cochabamba.

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In the entire village of Chipaya there are only five rectangular huts; they all belong to rich men who have traveled and have brought the cactus joists which support the roof from far away. The rectangular form is naturally considered chic, exactly as after the

/191 cont./

342 554 Conquest it was perfectly natural that the chiefs should be the first to adopt it. In my opinion it would be a mistake to see in the round hut of the Čipaya a culture trait which is characteristic of this ethnic group and capable of furnishing a clue to their origin. The modern Čipaya have retained the round hut solely because it was more practical and the only type which they could erect easily and without too much expense on the wretched plain where they are cantoned. If in place of tola they had had some other tougher shrub, their picturesque hovels would have given way to the dull sheds of the Aymara long ago.

*191 342 /192/ The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui build their huts on the model of those of the Aymara. Up to recent times they must have had to retain the circular hut, for I noticed two or three houses in their village which, without exactly being round, had at least considerably rounded corners. The wretched abodes to be seen among the Uro have exactly the same form as those of the Čipaya and, consequently, the second type of huts, i.e., those which are dispersed in the pastures. In contrast to the Aymara or Čipaya, the Uro cover their huts with totora mats, which they fasten with wooden pegs stuck in the walls.

Facing Ancoaqui on the other bank of the Desaguadero I saw several huts of a type new to me, one which I think has not yet been described. These are cubes with thick walls covered with a masonry dome, a middle term between pyramid and cupola. These huts were grouped exactly like the estancias of the Čipaya. They were, moreover, as it seemed to me, the dwellings of shepherds who certainly had a house in the village. The huts on the Desaguadero recall chullpas much more than do the Čipaya huts which have been compared with these funerary buildings.

*191 172 342 764 Whoever has traveled by mule on the altiplano and ascertained the fabulous number of chullpas left by the pre-Columbian inhabitants must have asked himself what befell the actual habitations where the Indians who are incarcerated in these strange sepulchers lived. It